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100TH CONGRESS LEGISLATIVE RECORD

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ALONG WITH

BRIEF HISTORICAL AND OTHER PERTINENT INFORMATION CONCERNING THE COMMITTEE

SEPTEMBER 20, 1989

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Committee on Ways and Means in the 100th Congress, which covened January 6, 1987, and adjourned sine die October 22, 1988, was engaged in the development of legislation of great importance to the Nation's tax system, its economy, and the well-being of its citizens.

As set forth in detail in the ensuing pages, 1,419 bills were referred to the committee in its major fields of Federal taxation, the several national Social Security programs, and foreign trade and tariffs. This figure represents 22.1 percent of all the public bills introduced in the House of Representatives in the 100th Congress.

In terms of specific activities in the 100th Congress, the Committee on Ways and Means completed action on H.R. 4333, legislation which made various extensions and modifications to expiring provisions such as the research and development tax credit and the mortgage revenue bond program. In addition, the legislation also contained technical corrections to the Tax Reform Act of 1986 and other recent tax legislation. These technical clarifications dealt with many areas of the tax law, including corporate, individual and pension issues, and were designed to assist taxpayer compliance with the tax laws. Further, the legislation included several miscellaneous provisions, and certain revenue raising provisions in order to insure that the legislation would not raise or lose revenue. This legislation was signed into law on November 10, 1988, as Public Law 100–647.

The committee also adopted budget reconciliation legislation for fiscal year 1988. This legislation was later modified in a conference with the Senate, and was included as part of H.R. 3545, the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1987. The legislation contained various revenue raising provisions, including modifications to the taxation of corporations, life insurance companies and certain publicly-traded limited partnerships. This legislation was signed into law on December 22, 1987, as Public Law 100–203.

Legislative Review of Trust Funds

The committee approved title IV of H.R. 2310, the Airport and Airway Improvement Act Amendments, which provided for a 3-year extension of airport and airway related taxes and exemptions and a 3-year extension of authority to spend from the Airport and Airway Trust Fund, through December 31, 1990. This legislation was signed into law on December 30, 1987 as Public Law 100–223.

The committee approved a provision requiring a per-dose excise tax on the sale of commonly prescribed vaccines, with the net revenues from the tax to be deposited in a new Vaccine Injury Compensation Trust Fund. This fund will be used to compensate injuries from vaccines administered after September 30, 1987, and before the termination of the program. This provision was included in the

Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987, which was signed into law on December 22, 1987, as Public Law 100-203.

Subcommittee on Trade

The Subcommittee on Trade considered numerous trade, tariff, and customs legislative measures during the 100th Congress, culminating with the enactment of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988, a comprehensive trade policy reform bill. In addition, the subcommittee maintained active oversight over the executive trade agencies, the trade agreements program, and trade negotiations. Members and staff were in constant touch with trade agency officials, private sector representatives, and foreign delegations on trade issues and the operation of trade laws and programs.

The subcommittee held oversight and legislative hearings on a wide variety of trade and customs issues, including the comprehensive trade legislation; fiscal year 1988 budget authorizations and oversight of the U.S. Customs Service, U.S. International Trade Commission, and the U.S. Trade Representative; the United States-Canada Free-Trade Agreement and its implementation; legislation to expand the Caribbean Basin Initiative program; proposed economic sanctions against the Republic of South Africa; and legislation to impose import prohibitions on products made by Toshiba Corporation and Kongsberg Vaapenfabrik Company. The subcommittee also held hearings concerning trade issues affecting particular U.S. domestic industries or products, including the Textile and Apparel Trade Act of 1987, tariff rate inversion on certain iron and steel pipe and tube products, and country-of-origin labeling requirements for imported meat and other food products. In addition, the subcommittee solicited written comments on various miscellaneous tariff and trade bills affecting particular products and on the proposed conversion of the Tariff Schedules of the United States into the Harmonized Commodity Description and Coding System, a new international system for the customs classification of goods in international trade. The subcommittee also maintained oversight of the ongoing Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, including progress made at the Ministerial-level Mid-term Review held in Montreal in December, 1988.

The most intensive legislative activity of the Subcommittee on Trade during the 100th Congress was the continuation and completion of comprehensive trade policy reform legislation begun in the 99th Congress. Omnibus trade legislation, H.R. 3, was introduced at the beginning of the 100th Congress, on January 6, 1987, and referred to six committees of the House, including titles I, II, and VIII to the Committee on Ways and Means. After 6 days of full committee and subcommittee hearings, the subcommittee reported a substitute amendment for the three titles on March 12, 1987 that was subsequently reported by the full committee and included in the omnibus bill passed by the House. Following the President's veto of the conference report, sustained by the Senate, the omnibus bill was reintroduced as H.R. 4848 on June 16, 1988 in identical form except for two provisions outside the committee's jurisdiction that were the basis of the veto. The Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 passed the House on July 13 without further

committee action and became public law on August 23, 1988 (Public Law 100–418).

The provisions of title I of the Act developed by the subcommittee and full committee, in consultation with the administration and the Senate Committee on Finance in conference, affect virtually every existing U.S. trade law and represent the most comprehensive restructuring and reform of basic U.S. trade statutes since the Trade Act of 1974. The basic elements of title I are: (1) broad grants of authority to the President to negotiate reciprocal multilateral and bilateral trade agreements in order to achieve specific foreign market access objectives and international rules of conduct; (2) amendments of U.S. basic trade laws to ensure stronger, more certain action against foreign unfair trade practices, and to improve measures for temporary relief and adjustment of U.S. industries and workers to increased import competition; and (3) stronger, more centralized trade policymaking within the executive branch, and greater consultation with the Congress.

The second major area of trade legislative activity in the 100th Congress was review and implementation of the United States-Canada Free-Trade Agreement. The cornerstone of the agreement is the elimination of all tariffs on bilateral trade over a 10-year period. The so-called "fast-track" no amendment procedures under the Trade Act of 1974 for congressional approval and implementation of trade agreements involved on-going consultations between administration officials and the subcommittee throughout the course of the negotiations, beginning in the 99th Congress. Following the signing of the agreement on January 2, 1988, the subcommittee held 6 days of public hearings on the agreement and its implementation. The subcommittee and full committee then drafted recommendations for the implementing legislation, in consultation with the administration, and the subcommittee met with the Senate Committee on Finance to resolve differences in the respective drafts. On July 14 the committee approved a recommended text of implementing legislation for provisions within the committee's jurisdiction for submission to the administration. The implementing bill submitted by the President on August 3 and passed by the Congress reflected these recommendations, and was signed into law on September 28, 1988 (Public Law 100–449).

The subcommittee and full committee also reported the Textile, Apparel and Footwear Trade Act of 1988 with amendments, which would have established global import quotas on about 180 categories of textile and textile products and 30 categories of footwear products. The final bill passed by the Congress in September 1988 was vetoed by the President; the veto was sustained by the House on October 4.

Title IX of the Omnibus Drug Initiative Act of 1988, signed into law on November 18, 1988 (Public Law 100–690), contains recommendations by the full committee which strengthen the enforcement capability of the U.S. Customs Service against illegal drugs. Title IX authorizes appropriations for the Customs Service, provides a significant increase in Customs personnel, enhances the Customs air interdiction program, provides for purchase of cargo scanning equipment, and increases penalties for failure to declare a controlled substance.

In addition, the full committee reported, as part of the broader sanctions against South Africa under the Anti-Apartheid Act Amendments of 1988, an expansion of the existing import ban to include all products of South Africa with limited exemptions. H.R. 1580 passed the House on August 11, 1988, but no action was taken by the Senate.

The committee also included immediate and prospective trade sanctions in H.R. 5337, the Sanctions Against Iraqi Chemical Weapons Use Act, authorizing the President to restrict imports from Iraq unless he could certify that Iraq had ceased its use of chemical weapons.

The Subcommittee on Trade held three days of hearings on legislation introduced by Chairman Gibbons, H.R. 3101, to enhance duty-free treatment and increase other benefits under the Caribbean Basin Initiative program. The subcommittee plans further consideration in the 101st Congress of legislative proposals to improve this program.

Finally, during each session of the Congress, the Subcommittee on Trade solicits written comments, holds public hearings, and reports to the full committee miscellaneous tariff and trade bills proposing temporary duty reductions, suspensions of duties, or changes in classification relating to individual products or import entries. These bills are carefully considered in light of compelling circumstances of inadequate domestic supply, unusually demanding conditions, or long-run changes in market conditions warranting special legislation. The legislative activity devoted to miscellaneous bills provides an important oversight tool for reviewing the tariff system and its impact on individual competitive situations.

In the 100th Congress, the subcommittee favorably reported over 100 miscellaneous tariff and trade provisions that were included in the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988. The subcommittee also favorably reported about 75 additional miscellaneous bills, about one-third of which were incorporated as title IX of the Technical and Miscellaneous Revenue Act of 1988 to continue existing temporary duty reductions and suspensions of duty on particular products.

Subcommittee on Oversight

Hearings and oversight activities were conducted on a wide range of subjects as part of the Subcommittee on Oversight's responsibility to evaluate the impact of present-law rules and programs within the committee's jurisdiction. The subcommittee's hearings and activities resulted in legislative changes by the full committee, administrative changes by the appropriate agency, or provided an official record of testimony and information to be further developed and considered in the next Congress.

The subcommittee conducted an extensive review of the Internal Revenue Service's (IRS) administration of the Federal tax system. In addition to continuous monitoring of IRS operations, hearings were conducted on the following subjects: IRS's operational preparedness for implementation of tax reform; the adequacy of the administration's fiscal years 1988 and 1989 budget proposals relating to the IRS; the 1987 and 1988 tax return filing season; and, the IRS's 1988 report on taxpayer noncompliance and the tax gap. The

subcommittee also held hearings to examine the current tax rules applicable to tax-exempt organizations involved in lobbying and political activities, unrelated business income tax activities and television ministries, and the Tax Code provisions affecting the civil penalty structure. The subcommittee included a thorough review of IRS's administration of these tax rules as part of the hearings.

The subcommittee continued its historic interest in retirement income security issues with hearings on: the funding and termination of defined benefit pension plans; the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation's proposal to initiate a variable rate premium structure; the portability of pension plan benefits; the investment of pension plan assets; and, employer-sponsored retiree health insurance. Also, the subcommittee held a joint hearing with the Subcommittee on Social Security on the reconciliation of Social Security and tax data from employer wage statements.

Further, the subcommittee conducted a series of comprehensive hearings to review the commercial operations of the U.S. Customs Service and visited the customs facilities in Miami, Florida. The subcommittee also reviewed Tax Code provisions affecting the operation and future status of the Airport and Airway Trust Fund. Finally, the subcommittee continued to monitor the impact and effectiveness of the Caribbean Basin Initiative.

Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures

The Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures held hearings and considered several topics which were then considered by the full committee and resulted in legislation. These issues included (i) the tax treatment of single-premium and other investment-oriented life insurance, (ii) the appropriate method for funding the National Vaccine Injury Compensation Program, (iii) the proper classification for tax purposes of certain publicly traded limited partnerships, and (iv) issues relating to workers' compensation funds. In addition, the subcommittee held a hearing on the interim report provided to Congress by the Treasury Department in June 1988, regarding life insurance company taxation.

Subcommittee on Health

During the 100th Congress the Subcommittee on Health approved three major pieces of legislation affecting the Medicare program: the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 (OBRA 1987), the Medicare and Medicaid Patient Protection Act of 1987, and the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988.

In addition to holding hearings related to these three bills, the subcommittee held hearings and conducted briefings relating to long-term care, nursing home reform, uncompensated care in hospitals, improving employee health benefits, the administration's capitation initiatives, the status of the Medicare Prospective Payment System, premiums paid by beneficiaries for coverage under Medicare part B, and other related issues.

The first major piece of legislation to be considered by the subcommittee was H.R. 3545 which was passed by the House on September 22, 1987, and included as title IV of The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 (OBRA 1987).

OBRA 1987 included a number of provisions affecting hospital payments. Payments were increased or updated for hospitals in urban and rural areas and for hospitals exempt from the prospective payment system (PPS). Payments for reimbursement of hospital capital costs were reduced.

In addition, OBRA 1987 established a regional floor on payments to PPS hospitals and removed the existing 15 percent cap on the adjustment to hospitals which serve a disproportionate number of low-income patients.

OBRA 1987 also provided for the establishment of a 3-year demonstration of uniform hospital reporting and included a number of provisions related to Medicare contracting on a capitated basis with health maintenance organizations and other organizations.

The subcommittee approved a number of changes in physician payment under Medicare for inclusion in OBRA 1987. Provisions included a differential increase in prevailing charges for participating physicians and primary care services, reduced prevailing charge levels for selected overpriced procedures, and limited customary charges for new physicians.

OBRA 1987 also authorized fee schedules for radiology and anesthesiology services, established fee schedules for durable medical equipment, increased the limit on payment for outpatient mental health services, and extended for 1 year the requirement that the part B premium raise revenues equal to 25 percent of program costs.

The subcommittee approved H.R. 1444, the Medicare and Medicaid Patient and Program Protection Act of 1987, which was signed into law on August 18, 1987. The bill contains a number of provisions to protect Medicare and Medicaid beneficiaries against poor quality care and fraudulent or abusive practices.

On July 1, 1988, President Reagan signed into law the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988.

This legislation protects Medicare beneficiaries from catastrophic hospital and physician expenses, limits out-of-pocket expenses for outpatient prescription drugs, provides respite care for those requiring long-term home care and makes important improvements in the home health, skilled nursing facility and other existing Medicare benefits.

The Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act limits out-of-pocket spending for Medicare services by extending hospital coverage to 365 days per year, requiring only one hospital deductible per year, capping patient cost for Medicare part B physician and outpatient services at $1,370, and limiting payment of the skilled nursing facility coinsurance.

In addition, new Medicare benefits were added. These benefits include coverage of outpatient prescription drugs, respite care services for chronically dependent homebound persons and mammography screening for women age 65 and over.

This legislation makes improvements to existing Medicare benefits by extending home health care services, adding additional days of covered skilled nursing care and eliminating the 3-day prior hospitalization requirement for skilled nursing benefits.

The act also improves Medicaid by requiring States to pay Medicare's cost sharing requirements for elderly and disabled Ameri-

cans below the poverty level, by improving protections against spousal impoverishment, and requiring States to cover mothers and infants up to the poverty level.

Subcommittee on Social Security

During the 100th Congress, the Subcommittee on Social Security approved changes in several areas of the Social Security program. In addition, the subcommittee continued to exercise actively its oversight responsibilities for the Social Security Administration.

Much of the Social Security legislation enacted during the 100th Congress was contained in two major pieces of legislation.

OBRA, The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 (Public Law 100–203) extended FICA tax coverage to include Armed Services reservists; certain agricultural workers; individuals aged 18–21 employed by their parent's trade or business; and an individual in the employ of his or her spouse's trade or business. The employer's share of FICA taxes was extended to include all cash tips (up to the Social Security wage base). Employer-provided group-term life insurance in excess of $50,000 was included in gross income for tax purposes.

OBRA 1987 increased the railroad retirement tier II tax rates by 2 percent, 1.35 percent on employers and 0.65 percent on employees. A Commission on Railroad Retirement Reform was established to conduct a comprehensive study of the issues pertaining to the long-term financing of the railroad retirement system. The Technical and Miscellaneous Revenue Act of 1988 (TAMRA, Public Law 100–647) extended the due date of the Commission's report 1 year to October 1, 1990.

The Technical and Miscellaneous Revenue Act of 1988 included minor and miscellaneous changes in the Social Security program. The so-called "windfall" benefit provision of the Social Security Amendments of 1983 was amended to modify the exemption from the reduction in the windfall benefit. The new provision continues to exempt only those persons with 30 years of Social Security coverage, but phases out the reduction in 5 percent increments for each year between 20 and 30 years of coverage. In addition, TAMRA provided for the denial of benefits to Nazi war criminals; the use of Social Security numbers to locate blood donors; clarification of the government pension offset to certain Federal employees; exemption from FICA tax for certain agricultural workers; exclusion of certain employees from FICA tax on group-term life insurance; and extension of the Social Security exemption for members of certain religious faiths.

During the 100th Congress the Subcommittee on Social Security maintained an active interest in the performance and efficiency of the Social Security Administration. The subcommittee members were particularly concerned with the continuing agency plan to reduce staffing levels. The subcommittee held several hearings to review the performance of SSA.

The Subcommittees on Oversight and Social Security held a joint hearing regarding the crediting of wages to Social Security accounts. The subcommittees heard testimony from GAO describing widespread errors in the Social Security Administration's records of individual earnings. Since the hearing, the subcommittee has en-

gaged in discussions with SSA and IRS to improve further the crediting of beneficiary wages.

The subcommittee held a hearing on misleading and deceptive mailings to Social Security beneficiaries. A provision to prohibit the misuse of symbols, emblems, or names in reference to Social Security was included in Public Law 100-360, the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act. The provision authorized civil money penalties for those found to be in violation of the law.

On April 4, 1988, the Social Security Subcommittee held a hearing on the GAO report entitled: "Social Security: The Notch Issue." After a thorough examination of the issue, GAO concluded that the 1977 law which established the new formula has, in general, worked as Congress intended. The GAO report concluded that the differences in benefits between those born before and after 1917 are not a result of the notch babies receiving less than was intended, but the differences resulted from those who were born earlier, sometimes known as the "bonanza babies" receiving more than was intended.

The subcommittee held a hearing in May 1988, on the Social Security trust fund reserves and the financing of retirement benefits for the "baby boom" generation. The Congressional Budget Office and the Congressional Research Service presented a portion of their report prepared for the Ways and Means Committee entitled "Retirement Income for an Aging Population." Several economists concluded that the buildup in the trust fund reserves would have a healthy effect on the economy if the deficit were brought down and the trust fund buildup resulted in net national savings.

During the 100th Congress, the subcommittee held a hearing on the retirement test at which the Congressional Budget Office presented a staff working paper entitled, "The Social Security Earnings Test and Options for Change." The study found that 40 percent of those who would benefit if the earnings limitation were eliminated have family incomes in excess of $42,000 a year.

The Social Security Subcommittee was particularly active in the area of Social Security disability. Several legislative changes in the disability program were made during the 100th Congress.

In May 1987, the subcommittee convened a hearing on the problems in the process of awarding attorneys' fees in Social Security disability cases. OBRA 1987 reinstated the original administrative policy allowing administrative law judges to authorize attorney's fees up to $3,000 without approval by an SSA regional office.

At a hearing in May 1988, the subcommittee heard testimony from the Disability Advisory Council and GAO regarding disincentives in the disability insurance (DI) program.

Considered together, the Advisory Council and GAO reports raised three general questions about the DI program: (1) what factors accounted for the low rates of rehabilitation and workforce participation among DI beneficiaries; (2) what additional incentives, if any, would be effective in encouraging larger numbers of DI beneficiaries to attempt work; (3) and what additional costs and savings would result from the creation of such incentives.

The subcommittee made several changes in the disability program during the 100th Congress. Public Law 100-203 provided for a 1-year extension of the continuation of benefits during appeal and

lengthened the extended period of eligibility for disability benefits. Included in Public Law 100-647 were provisions for interim disability benefits in the cases of delayed final decision, consolidation of reports on disability reviews, and an additional 1-year extension of the continuation of benefits during appeal.

Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation

During the 100th Congress, the Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation pursued its legislative and oversight responsibilities for all programs under its jurisdiction. The primary legislative activity of the subcommittee during this Congress was consideration of welfare reform legislation.

During the 100th Congress, the subcommittee held a total of 14 hearings on issues related to the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and Child Support Enforcement (CSE) programs. Seven hearings focused on the need for welfare reform with two additional sessions devoted to a review of the House welfare reform bill, H.R. 1720, the Family Welfare Reform Act of 1987. The subcommittee also held hearings on the status of implementation of the Child Support Enforcement Amendments of 1984, the use of AFDC funds for homeless families, and on recent studies of the AFDC quality control system and the need for reform.

Three bills containing AFDC and CSE amendments became law. In December of 1987, Congress enacted H.R. 3545, the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 (Public Law 100-203). This new law includes the following AFDC amendments: (1) added funding for AFDC fraud control efforts; (2) a prohibition, prior to October 1, 1988, on any action by the Secretary of Health and Human Services that would restrict the use of AFDC emergency assistance funds for homeless families or limit States' authority to make payments for special needs of AFDC recipients; (3) authorization for demonstration projects in the States of Washington and New York; and (4) extension of child support services to families receiving Medicaid only and a requirement for continuation of full child support services for families no longer receiving AFDC.

In October of 1988, the Congress enacted H.R. 1720, renamed the Family Support Act of 1988 (Public Law 100-485). The act includes the following major provisions:

1. *Child Support Enforcement.*—Requires the use of uniform guidelines to set child support awards, mandates genetic testing in contested paternity cases, requires computerized tracking and monitoring of child support cases, and requires automatic wage withholding.

2. *Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training (JOBS) Program.*—Establishes a new work, education and training program for AFDC families designed to provide comprehensive education and training services to long-term AFDC recipients and families in danger of becoming long-term recipients.

3. *Transitional Assistance for Families Who Leave Welfare.*—Guarantees child care and health benefits to AFDC families while they are in school or training and for 12 months after they leave AFDC for a job.

4. *Benefits for Two-Parent Families.*—Requires all States to extend AFDC benefits to two-parent families in which the principal

earner is unemployed. States without this coverage on September 26, 1988 may limit benefits to 6 months.

5. *Revenue Provisions.*—To offset the additional costs of the new law without increasing the Federal budget deficit, several revenue provisions are included, among these is, an extension, for 5 years, of the program for IRS collection of nontax debts owed to Federal agencies.

In November 1988, the President signed the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act of 1988 (Public Law 100–628). The new law extends through September 30, 1989, the moratorium on any regulations which restrict AFDC special needs payments or the emergency assistance program and authorizes demonstration projects designed to reduce the number of homeless AFDC families living in hotels by encouraging the rehabilitation or construction of transitional facilities.

During the 100th Congress, three bills containing amendments to the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program were also enacted. In December of 1987, Congress enacted the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 (Public Law 100–203) which includes a number of technical amendments to the SSI program.

In June of 1988, Congress passed the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988 (Public Law 100–360) which repeals the SSI transfer of assets policy and applies the Medicaid transfer of assets policy to SSI recipients who enter a Medical institution or nursing facility.

In November of 1988, the President signed the Technical and Miscellaneous Revenue Act of 1988 (Public Law 100–647). The new law clarifies that housing assistance is not considered income or resources for SSI applicants and recipients.

The subcommittee also has jurisdiction over the title XX social services block grant, child welfare services, foster care, and adoption assistance. During the 100th Congress, the subcommittee held five hearings on topics related to these programs. Three days of hearings were held jointly with the House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families on the need for foster care, child welfare and adoption reforms. Sessions were also held on the foster care independent living program and the child care needs of low-income families.

Two bills containing foster care, child welfare and social service amendments were enacted into law during the 100th Congress.

In December 1987, the President signed H.R. 3545, the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 (Public Law 100-203) which: (1) extends the authority for voluntary foster care placements and the authority for States to transfer foster care funds; (2) allows a mother and her infant who are living together in foster care to receive foster care maintenance payments; (3) raises the title XX authorization cap to $2.750 billion for fiscal year 1988; (4) extends title XX and child welfare services to American Samoa; (5) authorizes a national commission on children to make recommendations regarding the health of children, social and support services, education, income security and tax policy; and (6) authorizes a study of children with AIDS in foster care and demonstration projects to provide residential care for newborn babies whose parents abandon them to the care of hospitals.

In November 1988, the President signed the Technical and Miscellaneous Revenue Act of 1988 (Public Law 100–647) which extends, through fiscal year 1989, the authority for State independent living initiatives for foster care children and modifies the reporting dates for the National Commission on Children.

During the 100th Congress, the subcommittee held three hearings on unemployment compensation issues, including a session on the railroad unemployment compensation program and two hearings on the need for reform of the basic unemployment compensation program. Four bills affecting these programs were enacted into law.

In December 1987, the President signed H.R. 3545, the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 (Public Law 100–203). Public Law 100–203 contains several unemployment compensation provisions including authorization for self-employment demonstration projects and an extension and modification of the FUTA 0.2 percent surtax. In addition, the new law raises the ceilings in the Extended Unemployment Compensation Account and the Federal Unemployment Account and provides for interest to be charged on any new loans from the general fund.

In November 1988, the President signed the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act of 1988 (Public Law 100-628). The new law permits the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development or a public housing agency to request wage and unemployment compensation data from State unemployment agencies for the purpose of verifying tenant eligibility. The authorization is limited to 5 years; data may not be released to private owners.

In November 1988, the President signed the Technical and Miscellaneous Revenue Act of 1988 (Public Law 100–647) which includes an extension of the reporting deadlines for the self-employment demonstration projects.

Public Law 100–647 also reforms the railroad unemployment compensation program. The major provisions include: (1) indexing the monthly taxable wage base to two-thirds of the rise in wage levels in the economy; (2) implementing an "experience rating" tax schedule for railroad employers, which would impose tax rates on employers in proportion to the benefits paid to their employees; (3) increasing the administrative tax rate from 0.5 to 0.65 percent; (4) imposing a 4 percent debt repayment tax until the debt to the retirement program is repaid; (5) repealing the contingent 3.5 percent surtax and replacing it with an additional surcharge to be added to tax rates when fund balances are low; (6) establishing a 2-week waiting period for benefits; and (7) increasing daily unemployment benefits from $25 to $30.

II. JURISDICTION OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

U.S. Constitution

Article I, Section 7, of the Constitution of the United States provides as follows:

> All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Rule X, Clause 1, Rules of the House of Representatives

Rule X, Clause 1, of the Rules of the House of Representatives, in effect during the 100th Congress, provides for the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means, as follows:

> (v) Committee on Ways and Means.
>
> (1) Customs, collection districts, and ports on entry and delivery.
> (2) Reciprocal trade agreements.
> (3) Revenue measures generally.
> (4) Revenue measures relating to the insular possessions.
> (5) The bonded debt of the United States (subject to the last sentence of clause 4(g) of this rule).[1]
> (6) The deposit of public moneys.
> (7) Transportation of dutiable goods.
> (8) Tax-exempt foundations and charitable trusts.
> (9) National Social Security, except (A) health care and facilities programs that are supported from general revenues as opposed to payroll deductions and (B) work incentive programs.

Brief Description of Committee's Jurisdiction

The foregoing recitation of the provisions of House Rule X, clause 1, paragraph (v), does not convey the comprehensive nature of the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means. The following summary provides a more complete description:

(1) *Federal revenue measures generally.*—The Committee on Ways and Means has the responsibility for raising the revenue required to finance the Federal Government. This includes individual and corporate income taxes, excise taxes, estate taxes, gift taxes, and other miscellaneous taxes.

(2) *The bonded debt of the United States.*—The Committee on Ways and Means also has jurisdiction over the extent of the authority of the Federal Government to borrow money within the Federal debt ceiling as set forth in section 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act, the so-called Federal debt ceiling. In this regard, the permanent Federal debt ceiling, as of the close of the 100th Congress, is set at $2,800 billion. This jurisdiction also extends to debt man-

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[1] The last sentence of clause 4(g) requires the Committee on Ways and Means to include in its annual February 25 report to the Budget Committee a specific recommendation as to the appropriate level of the public debt which would then be set forth in the concurrent resolution on the budget and serve as the basis for an increase or decrease in the statutory limit on the debt.

agement techniques such as the Savings Bond program and authority to issue long-term bonds at interest rates in excess of the statutory limit of 4½ percent. At the beginning of the 100th Congress, the authority to issue long-term bonds at interest rates in excess of the statutory limit was limited to $250 billion. During the 100th Congress, this limitation was repealed.

(3) *National Social Security programs.*—The Committee on Ways and Means has jurisdiction over most of the programs authorized by the Social Security Act, which includes not only those programs that are normally referred to colloquially as "Social Security" but also social insurance programs and a whole series of grant-in-aid programs to State governments for a variety of purposes. The Social Security Act, as amended, contains 20 titles (a few of which have either expired or have been repeated), covering more than 870 pages of existing law in one compilation. The principal programs established by the Social Security Act and under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means in the 100th Congress can be outlined as follows:

(a) Old-age, survivors, and disability insurance (title II)—At present, there are approximately 128 million workers in employment covered by the program, and as of January 1989, $220 billion in benefits were being paid annually to 38.6 million individuals.

(b) Medicare (title XVIII)—Provides hospital insurance benefits to 28.8 million persons over the age of 65 and to 3.0 million disabled persons. Voluntary supplementary medical insurance is provided to 28.6 million aged persons and 2.8 million disabled persons. Expenditures under these programs were $79.7 billion in fiscal year 1987 and are estimated to be $85.5 billion in fiscal year 1988.

(c) Supplemental security income (title XVI)—The SSI program was inaugurated in January 1974 under the provisions of Public Law 92-603, as amended. It replaced the former Federal-State programs for the needy aged, blind, and disabled. In September 1988, approximately 4.4 million people received federally administered benefits under the SSI program. Of these, 1.4 million received benefits on the basis of age, 83,000 were blind, and 2.9 million were disabled. Total federally administered payments during fiscal year 1988 amounted to approximately $13.5 billion, of which $10.5 billion were basic Federal benefits and $2.6 billion were federally administered State supplements to the payments.

(d) Aid to families with dependent children (title IV)—This program provides grants-in-aid to States for aid to families with dependent children and child welfare services. About 10.9 million people in 3.7 million families received AFDC benefits during fiscal year 1988. Total AFDC payments in fiscal year 1988 were approximately $16.6 billion. In fiscal year 1988, Federal administrative expenditures totaled $0.8 billion for the child support enforcement program. Child support collections for that year totaled $4.6 billion.

(e) Social services (title XX)—Title XX authorizes the Federal Government to reimburse the States for money spent to provide persons with various services. Generally, the specific serv-

ices provided are determined by each State. The statutory ceiling on Federal matching funds available to the States for fiscal year 1988 was $2.7 billion. These funds are allocated on the basis of population.

(f) Unemployment compensation programs (titles II, IX, etc.)—These titles include the State unemployment compensation programs and the permanent extended benefits program. In fiscal year 1988, an estimated $13.2 billion was paid in unemployment compensation benefits, with approximately 6.8 million workers receiving unemployment benefits.

(g) Child welfare, foster care and adoption assistance (parts B and E of title IV)—Provides funds to States for child welfare services, for abused and neglected children; foster care for AFDC children and adoption assistance for children with special needs.

(4) *Trade and tariff legislation.*—The Committee on Ways and Means has responsibility over legislation relating to tariffs, import trade, and trade negotiations. In the early days of the Republic, tariff and customs receipts were major sources of revenue for the Federal Government. As the committee with jurisdiction over revenue-raising measures, the Committee on Ways and Means thus evolved as the primary committee responsible for international trade policy.

The Constitution vests the power to levy tariffs and to regulate international commerce specifically in the Congress as one of its enumerated powers. Any authority to regulate imports or to negotiate trade agreements must therefore be delegated to the executive branch through legislative action. Statutes such as the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Acts beginning in 1934, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, the Trade Act of 1974, the Trade Agreements Act of 1979, the Trade and Tariff Act of 1984, and the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 provide the basis for U.S. bargaining with other countries to achieve the mutual reduction of tariff and nontariff trade barriers under reciprocal trade agreements.

The committee's jurisdiction includes the following authorities and programs:

(a) The tariff schedules and all tariff preference programs, such as the Generalized System of Preferences and the Caribbean Basin Initiative;

(b) Laws dealing with unfair trade practices, including the antidumping law, countervailing duty law, section 301, and section 337;

(c) Other laws dealing with import trade including section 201 (escape clause), section 232 national security controls, section 22 agricultural restrictions, international commodity agreements, and textile restrictions under section 204;

(d) General and specific trade negotiating authority, as well as implementing authority for trade agreements and the grant of most-favored-nation status;

(e) The trade adjustment assistance program;

(f) Customs enforcement and administration, including rules of origin, customs classification, and customs user fees;

(g) Authorization of the budget for the U.S. International Trade Commission, the U.S. Customs Service, and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.

U.S. foreign trade has burgeoned in recent years, growing from $86 billion in 1970 to $763 billion in 1988. As a percent of GNP, foreign trade rose from 7.4 percent in 1970 to over 16 percent in 1988. Since 1975 the U.S. merchandise trade balance has been in deficit and in 1986 hit an historic high of over $170 billion. Since 1986, some improvement has occurred; the trade deficit declined to $119 billion in 1988.

The committee, in the 100th Congress, exercised its jurisdiction over bills referred to it in the above areas and its oversight responsibilities through its six subcommittees. These subcommittees are the Subcommittee on Trade, the Subcommittee on Oversight, the Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures, the Subcommittee on Health, the Subcommittee on Social Security, and the Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation. The memberships of these subcommittees in the 100th Congress were as follows:

SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE

SAM M. GIBBONS, Florida, *Chairman*

DAN ROSTENKOWSKI, Illinois
ED JENKINS, Georgia
THOMAS J. DOWNEY, New York
DON J. PEASE, Ohio
MARTY RUSSO, Illinois
RICHARD A. GEPHARDT, Missouri
FRANK J. GUARINI, New Jersey
ROBERT T. MATSUI, California
PHILIP M. CRANE, Illinois
BILL ARCHER, Texas [1]
GUY VANDER JAGT, Michigan
BILL FRENZEL, Minnesota
DICK SCHULZE, Pennsylvania
WILLIAM M. THOMAS, California [2]

SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT

J.J. PICKLE, Texas, *Chairman*

BERYL ANTHONY, JR., Arkansas
RONNIE G. FLIPPO, Alabama
BYRON L. DORGAN, North Dakota
HAROLD FORD, Tennessee
CHARLES B. RANGEL, New York
ANDY JACOBS, JR., Indiana
DICK SCHULZE, Pennsylvania
BILL FRENZEL, Minnesota [3]
WILLIAM M. THOMAS, California [3]
RAYMOND J. McGRATH, New York
ROD CHANDLER, Washington [2]
E. CLAY SHAW, JR., Florida [2]

SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT REVENUE MEASURES

CHARLES B. RANGEL, New York, *Chairman*

RONNIE G. FLIPPO, Alabama
BYRON L. DORGAN, North Dakota
BARBARA B. KENNELLY, Connecticut
MICHAEL A. ANDREWS, Texas
FORTNEY PETE STARK, California
WILLIAM J. COYNE, Pennsylvania
GUY VANDER JAGT, Michigan
RAYMOND J. McGRATH, New York
JUDD GREGG, New Hampshire
HANK BROWN, Colorado

Subcommittee on Health

FORTNEY PETE STARK, California, *Chairman*

BRIAN J. DONNELLY, Massachusetts
WILLIAM J. COYNE, Pennsylvania
J. J. PICKLE, Texas
BERYL ANTHONY, Jr., Arkansas
SANDER M. LEVIN, Michigan
JIM MOODY, Wisconsin
BILL GRADISON, Ohio
HAL DAUB, Nebraska
JUDD GREGG, New Hampshire
ROD CHANDLER, Washington

Subcommittee on Social Security

ANDY JACOBS, Jr., Indiana, *Chairman*

RICHARD A. GEPHARDT, Missouri
SAM M. GIBBONS, Florida
SANDER M. LEVIN, Michigan
JIM MOODY, Wisconsin
BILL ARCHER, Texas [1]
PHILIP M. CRANE, Illinois
HAL DAUB, Nebraska [4]
BILL FRENZEL, Minnesota [2]

Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation

HAROLD FORD, Tennessee, *Chairman*

THOMAS J. DOWNEY, New York,
Acting Chairman [5]
DON J. PEASE, Ohio
ROBERT T. MATSUI, California
BARBARA B. KENNELLY, Connecticut
BRIAN J. DONNELLY, Massachusetts
MICHAEL A. ANDREWS, Texas
HANK BROWN, Colorado
BILL FRENZEL, Minnesota
BILL GRADISON, Ohio
ROD CHANDLER, Washington [3]
E. CLAY SHAW, Jr., Florida [2]

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[1] Became ex-officio member of all subcommittees upon the death of the Honorable John J. Duncan on June 21, 1988.

[2] Assigned to Subcommittee on July 15, 1988.

[3] Reassigned to another Subcommittee on July 15, 1988.

[4] Appointed Ranking Minority Member July 15, 1988.

[5] Appointed Acting Chairman April 29, 1987, pursuant to Rule 47 of the Democratic Caucus of the House of Representatives.

III. HISTORICAL NOTE

The Committee on Ways and Means was first established as an ad hoc committee in the first session of the First Congress, on July 24, 1789. Mr. Fitzsimons, from Pennsylvania, in commenting on the report of a select committee concerning appropriations and revenues, pointed out the desirability of having a committee to review the expenditure needs of the Government and the resources available, as follows:

> The finances of America have frequently been mentioned in this House as being very inadequate to the demands. I have never been of a different opinion, and do believe that the funds of this country, if properly drawn into operation, will be equal to every claim. The estimate of supplies necessary for the current year appears very great from a report on your table, and which report has found its way into the \public newspapers. I said, on a former occasion, and I repeat it now, notwithstanding what is set forth in the estimate, that a revenue of $3 million in specie, will enable us to provide every supply necessary to support the Government, and pay the interest and installments on the foreign and domestic debt. If we wish to have more particular information on these points, we ought to appoint a Committee of Ways and Means, to whom, among other things, the estimate of supplies may be referred, and this ought to be done speedily, if we mean to do it this session.

After discussion, the motion was agreed to and a committee consisting of one member from each State (North Carolina and Rhode Island had not yet ratified the Constitution) was appointed as follows: Messrs. Fitzsimons (Pennsylvania), Vining (Delaware), Livermore (New Hampshire), Cadwalader (New Jersey), Laurance (New York), Wadsworth (Connecticut), Jackson (Georgia), Gerry (Massachusetts), Smith (Maryland), Smith (South Carolina), and Madison (Virginia).

While there does not appear to be any direct relationship, it is interesting to note that the appointment of this ad hoc committee came within a few weeks after the House, in Committee of the Whole, had spent a good part of the months of April, May, and June in wrestling with the details involved in writing bills "for laying a duty on goods, wares, and merchandises imported into the United States" and for imposing duties on tonnage. Tariffs, of course, became a prime revenue source for the new government.

However, the results of this ad hoc committee are not clear. It existed for a period of only 8 weeks, being dissolved on September 17, 1789, with the following order:

> That the Committee on Ways and Means be discharged from further proceeding on the business referred to them, and that it be referred to the Secretary of the Treasury to report thereon.

It has also been suggested by one student that the committee was dissolved because Alexander Hamilton had become Secretary of the newly created Department of the Treasury, and thus it was presumed that the Treasury Department could provide the necessary machinery for developing information which would be needed. During the next 6 years there was no Ways and Means Committee or any other standing committee for the examination of estimates. Rather, ad hoc committees were appointed to draw up particular pieces of legislation on the basis of decisions made in the Committee of the Whole House. On November 13, 1794, a rule was adopted providing that:

> All proceedings touching appropriations of money shall be first moved and discussed in a Committee on the Whole House.

In the next Congress historians have suggested that the House was determined to curtail Secretary Hamilton's influence by first setting up a Committee on Ways and Means and requiring that committee to submit a report on appropriations and revenue measures before consideration in the Committee of the Whole House. It was also said that this Ways and Means Committee was put on a more or less standing basis since such a committee appeared at some point in every Congress until it was made a permanent committee.

In the first session of the 7th Congress, Tuesday, December 8, 1801, a resolution was adopted as follows:

> *Resolved,* That a standing Committee of Ways and Means be appointed, whose duty it shall be to take into consideration all such reports of the Treasury Department, and all such propositions, relative to the revenue as may be referred to them by the House; to inquire into the state of the public debt, of the revenue, and of the expenditures; and to report, from time to time, their opinion thereon.

The following Members were appointed: Messrs. Randolph (Virginia), Griswold (Connecticut), Smith (Vermont), Bayard (Delaware), Smilie (Pennsylvania), Read (Massachusetts), Nicholson (Maryland), Van Rensselaer (New York), Dickson (Tennessee).

On Thursday, January 7, 1802, the House agreed to standing rules which, among other things, provided for standing committees, including the Committee on Ways and Means. The relevant part of the rules in this respect read as follows:

> A Committee of Ways and Means, to consist of seven members;
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> It shall be the duty of the said Committee of Ways and Means to take into consideration all such reports of the Treasury Department, and all such propositions relative to the revenue, as may be referred to them by the House; to

> inquire into the state of the public debt, of the revenue, and of the expenditures, and to report, from time to time, their opinion thereon; to examine into the state of the several public departments, and particularly into the laws making appropriations of moneys, and to report whether the moneys have been disbursed conformably with such laws; and also to report, from time to time, such provisions and arrangements, as may be necessary to add to the economy of the departments, and the accountability of their officers.

It has been said that the jurisdiction of the committee was so broad in the early 19th century that one historian described it as follows:

> It seemed like an Atlas bearing upon its shoulders all the business of the House.

The jurisdiction of the committee remained essentially the same until 1865 when the control over appropriations was transferred to a newly created Committee on Appropriations and another part of its jurisdiction was given to a newly created Committee on Banking and Currency. This action followed rather extended discussion in the House, too lengthy to review here.

During the course of that discussion, however, the following observations are of some historical interest. Mr. Cox, who was handling the motion to divide the committee, gave a very picturesque discussion of the many varied and heavy duties which had fallen on the committee over the years. He observed:

> And yet, sir, powerful as the committee is constituted, even their powers of endurance, physical and mental, are not adequate to the great duty which has been imposed by the emergencies of this historic time. It is an old adage, that "whoso wanteth rest will also want of might"; and even an Olympian would faint and flag if the burden of Atlas is not relieved by the broad shoulders of Hercules.

He continued:

> I might give here a detailed statement of the amount of business thrown upon that committee since the commencement of the war. But I prefer to append it to my remarks. Whereas before the war we scarcely expended more than $70 million a year, now, during the five sessions of the last two Congresses, there has been an average appropriation of at least $800 million per session. The statement which I hold in my hand shows that during the first and extra session of the 37th Congress there came appropriation bills from the Committee on Ways and Means amounting to $226,691,457.99. I say nothing now of the loan and other fiscal bills emanating from that committee. * * * During the present session I suppose it would be a fair estimate to take the appropriations of the last session of the 37th Congress, say $900 million.
>
> These are appropriation bills alone. They are stupendous, and but poorly symbolize the immense labors which

> the internal revenue, tariff, and loan bills imposed on the committee. * * * And this business of appropriations is perhaps not one-half of the labor of the committee. There are various and important matters upon which they act, but upon which they never report. Their duties comprehend all the varied interests of the United States; every element and branch of industry, and every dollar or dime of value. They are connected with taxation, tariffs, banking, loan bills, and ramify to every fiber of the body-politic. All the springs of wealth and labor are more or less influenced by the action of this committee. Their responsibility is immense, and their control almost imperial over the necessities, comforts, homes, hopes, and destinies of the people. All the values of the United States, which in the census of 1860 (page 194) amount to nearly $17 billion, or, to be exact, $16,159,616,068, are affected by the action of that committee, even before their action is approved by the House. Those values fluctuate whenever the head of the Ways and Means rises in his place and proposes a measure. The price of every article we use trembles when he proposes a gold bill or a loan bill, or any bill to tax directly or indirectly. * * *
>
> * * * the interests connected with these economical questions are of all questions those most momentous for the future. Parties, statesmanship, union, stability, all depend upon the manner in which these questions are dealt with.

Congressman Morrill (who was subsequently appointed chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the succeeding Congress, and who still later became chairman of the Senate Finance Committee after he became a Senator) observed as follows:

> I am entirely indifferent as to the disposition which shall be made of this subject by the House. So far as I am myself concerned, I have never sought any position upon any committee from the present or any other Speaker of the House, and probably never shall. I have no disposition to press myself hereafter for any position. In relation to the proposed division of the Committee on Ways and Means, the only doubt that I have is the one expressed by my colleague on that committee, Mr. Stevens, in regard to the separation of the questions of revenue from those relating to appropriations. In ordinary times of peace I should deem it almost indispensable and entirely within their power that this committee should have the control of both subjects, in order that they might make both ends meet, that is, to provide a sufficient revenue for the expenditures. That reason applies now with greater force; but it may be that the committee is overworked. It is true that for the last 3 or 4 years the labors of the Committee on Ways and Means have been incessant, they have labored not only days but nights; not only weekends but Sundays. If gentlemen suppose that the committee have permitted some appropriations to be reported which

should not have been permitted they little understand how much has been resisted.

The influence the committee emanated came not only from the nature of its jurisdiction but also because for many years the chairman of the committee was also ad hoc majority floor leader of the House.

When the revolt against Speaker Cannon took place, and the Speaker's powers to appoint the members of committees was curtailed, the Democrats on the Committee on Ways and Means became the Democratic Committee on Committees.

Subsequently, however, in a change adopted by the Democratic Caucus in organizing the 94th Congress, the Caucus Steering and Policy Committee assumed the functions of the Committee on Committees and has retained them to this time.

Throughout its history, many famous Americans have served on the Committee on Ways and Means. The long and distinguished list includes 7 Presidents of the United States, 8 Vice-Presidents, 4 Justices of the Supreme Court, 34 Cabinet officers, and quite interestingly, 21 Speakers of the House of Representatives. This latter figure represents nearly one-half of the 47 Speakers who have served since 1789 through the end of the 100th Congress. See the alphabetical list which follows for names.

Major positions held by former members of the Committee on Ways and Means

President of the United States:
- George H. W. Bush, Texas [1]
- Millard Fillmore, New York
- James A. Garfield, Ohio
- Andrew Jackson, Tennessee
- James Madison, Virginia
- William McKinley, Jr., Ohio
- James K. Polk, Tennessee
- John Tyler, Virginia

Vice President of the United States:
- John C. Breckinridge, Kentucky
- George H. W. Bush, Texas
- Charles Curtis, Kansas
- Millard Fillmore, New York
- John N. Garner, Texas
- Elbridge Gerry, Massachusetts
- Richard M. Johnson, Kentucky
- John Tyler, Virginia

Justice of the Supreme Court:
- Philip P. Barbour, Virginia
- Joseph McKenna, California
- John McKinley, Alabama
- Fred M. Vinson, Kentucky (Chief Justice)

Speaker of the House of Representatives:
- Nathaniel P. Banks, Massachusetts
- Philip P. Barbour, Virginia

[1] George H. W. Bush did not begin his term as President until the 101st Congress.

James G. Blaine, Maine
John G. Carlisle, Kentucky
Langdon Cheves, South Carolina
James B. (Champ) Clark, Missouri
Howell Cobb, Georgia
Charles F. Crisp, Georgia
John N. Garner, Texas
John W. Jones, Virginia
Michael C. Kerr, Indiana
Nicholas Longworth, Ohio
John W. McCormack, Massachusetts
James K. Polk, Tennessee
Henry T. Rainey, Illinois
Samuel J. Randall, Pennsylvania
Thomas B. Reed, Maine
Theodore Sedgwick, Massachusetts
Andrew Stevenson, Virginia
John W. Taylor, New York
Robert C. Winthrop, Massachusetts

Cabinet Member:

Secretary of State:
James G. Blaine, Maine
William J. Bryan, Nebraska
Cordell Hull, Tennessee
Louis McLane, Delaware
John Sherman, Ohio

Secretary of the Treasury:
George W. Campbell, Tennessee
John G. Carlisle, Kentucky
Howell Cobb, Georgia
Thomas Corwin, Ohio
Charles Foster, Ohio
Albert Gallatin, Pennsylvania
Samuel D. Ingham, Pennsylvania
Louis McLane, Delaware
Ogden L. Mills, New York
John Sherman, Ohio
Philip F. Thomas, Maryland
Fred M. Vinson, Kentucky

Attorney General:
James P. McGranery, Pennsylvania
Joseph McKenna, California
A. Mitchell Palmer, Pennsylvania
Caesar A. Rodney, Delaware

Postmaster General:
Samuel D. Hubbard, Connecticut
Cave Johnson, Tennessee
Horace Maynard, Tennessee
William L. Wilson, West Virgina

Secretary of the Navy:
Thomas W. Gilmer, Virginia
Hilary A. Herbert, Alabama
Victor H. Metcalf, California
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia

Secretary of the Interior:
Rogers C. B. Morton, Maryland
Jacob Thompson, Mississippi
Secretary of Commerce and Labor:
Victor H. Metcalf, California
Secretary of Commerce
Rogers C. B. Morton, Maryland
Secretary of Agriculture
Clinton P. Anderson, New Mexico

IV. STATISTICAL REVIEW OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS IN THE 100th CONGRESS

A. Number of Bills and Resolutions Referred to the Committee

As of the close of the 100th Congress on October 22, 1988, there had been referred to the committee a total of 1,419 bills, representing almost 22.1 percent of all the public bills introduced in the House of Representatives.

The following table gives a more complete statistical review since 1967:

The following table gives a more complete statistical review since 1967:

TABLE 1.—NUMBER OF BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS REFERRED TO THE COMMITTEE, 90TH THROUGH 100TH CONGRESSES

	Introduced in House	Referred to Committee on Ways and Means	Percentage
90th Congress	24,227	3,806	15.7
91st Congress	23,575	3,442	14.6
92d Congress	20,458	3,157	15.4
93d Congress	21,096	3,370	16.0
94th Congress	19,371	3,747	19.3
95th Congress	17,800	3,922	22.0
96th Congress	10,196	2,337	22.9
97th Congress	9,909	2,377	26.4
98th Congress	8,104	1,904	23.5
99th Congress	7,522	1,568	20.8
100th Congress	7,043	1,419	22.1

B. Public Hearings and Markup Sessions

In the course of the 100th Congress, the full Committee on Ways and Means held public hearings on a total of 19 days, including 16 days in the first session and 3 days in the second session. Some of the major subjects of these full committee hearings included catastrophic illness expenses, the President's budget for fiscal year 1988, comprehensive trade reform, options to increase revenues, and the economy and the President's budget for 1989.

The following table specifies the statistical data on the number of days, witnesses, and volumes published on each of the subjects covered by public hearings in the full committee during the 100th Congress.

TABLE 2.—PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE FULL COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Subject and date	Number and—		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
1987:			
Catastrophic illness expenses, Jan. 29 (held jointly with Subcommittee on Health)	1	3	1
Overview of the President's budget for fiscal year 1988, Feb. 3, 4, 11, 25	4	12	1
Comprehensive trade legislation, Part 1—Feb. 5, 10 (see Subcommittee on Trade listing for additional dates)	2	12	1
Views of the National Governor's Association on major legislative proposals, Feb. 24	1	6	1
Administration request for an increase in the public debt limit, Apr. 30	1	1	1
Revenue increase options, July 7, 8, 9, 15	4	106	3
Sulfur and Nitrogen Emissions Tax Act of 1987, Sept. 9	1	22	1
Medicare Part B premium for 1988, Sept. 30	1	11	1
Cotton Research and Promotion Act of 1987, Nov. 17	1	12	1
Total 1987	16	185	11
1988:			
The economy and the President's budget for fiscal year 1989, Mar. 16	1	6	1
Uranium enrichment and mill tailings reclamation legislation, Aug. 10	1	10	1
Proposed changes in Social Security Administration appeals process, Dec. 5	1	12	1
Total 1988	3	28	3
Total for both sessions	19	213	14

The six subcommittees of the Committee on Ways and Means were also very active in conducting public hearings during the 100th Congress. The following table specifies in detail the number of days, witnesses, and volumes published by each of the subcommittees:

TABLE 3.—PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Subject and date	Number of—		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE			
1987:			
Comprehensive trade legislation, Part 1—Feb. 18, 20, Part 2—Feb. 26, 27 (see full committee listing for additional dates)	4	65	1
Textile and Apparel Trade Act of 1987, May 7, 18; June 2	3	45	1
Fiscal year 1988 budget authorizations and oversight for U.S. Customs Service, U.S. International Trade Commission, and U.S. Trade Representative, May 12	1	20	1

TABLE 3.—PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS—Continued

Subject and date	Number of—		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
Legislation to prohibit the importation of products made by Toshiba Corp. and Kongsberg Vaapenfabrik Co., July 14	1	13	1
Carribean Basin Economic Recovery Act of 1987, Dec. 14 (see continued listing for 1988)	1	15	
1988:			
United States-Canada Free Trade Agreement, Feb. 9, 26, 29; Mar. 1, 11, 25	6	57	1
Carribean Basin Economic Recovery Act of 1987, Mar. 28; Sept. 15 (see listing for 1987 for previous dates)	2	15	1
Proposed sanctions on the Republic of South Africa, June 9	1	10	1
Tariff rate inversion on certain iron and steel pipe and tube products, Sept. 22	1	9	1
Country-of-origin labeling requirements for imported meat and other food products, Sept. 27	1	21	1
Total	21	270	9
SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT			
1987:			
Internal Revenue Service operations, Feb. 6	1	11	1
Proposals in the President's competitiveness initiative that affect funding and termination of defined benefit pension plans, Mar. 6	1	4	1
Lobbying and political activities of tax-exempt organizations, Mar. 12, 13	2	34	1
PBGC proposal to initiate a variable rate premium system; and public comments on administration's pension plan funding and premium rate proposals, Apr. 7, 9	2	23	1
Administration's fiscal year 1988 budget proposals relating to the Internal Revenue Service, Apr. 23	1	20	1
Unrelated business income tax, June 22, 25, 26, 29, 30	5	114	3
Federal tax rules applicable to tax-exempt organizations involving television ministries, Oct. 6	1	21	1
1988:			
1988 tax return filing season, Feb. 23	1	6	1
Internal Revenue Service's 1988 report on the "Tax Gap", Mar. 17	1	2	1
Review of the civil penalty provisions contained in the Internal Revenue Code, Mar. 31; July 28	2	40	1
Administration's fiscal year 1989 budget proposals relating to the Internal Revenue Service and the U.S. Tax Court, Apr. 13	1	11	1
Discussion options on unrelated business income tax, May 9	1	30	1
Review of U.S. Customs Service operations, June 9; Aug. 9; Sept. 27	3	54	1
Portability of pension plan benefits; and investment of pension plan assets, July 12	1	25	1
Crediting of wages to Social Security accounts, Aug. 9 (held jointly with Subcommittee on Social Security, see listing for Social Security)	1	13	1
Review of the operation and future status of the Airport and Airway Trust Fund, Aug. 11	1	8	1
Employer-sponsored retiree health insurance, Sept. 15	1	22	1

TABLE 3.—PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS—Continued

Subject and date	Number of—		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
Total	26	438	19
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT REVENUE MEASURES			
1987:			
Funding of the childhood vaccine program, Mar. 5	1	17	1
Taxation of worker's compensation funds, Apr. 7	1	12	1
Interstate Sales Tax Collection Act, May 13	1	22	1
Master limited partnerships, June 30; July 1	2	36	1
Utility ratepayer refunds; Indian fishing rights; and United Nations housing benefits, Dec. 14	1	27	1
1988:			
Low-income housing tax credits and the role of tax policy in preserving the stock of low-income housing, Mar. 2, 3	2	27	1
Investment uses of life insurance, Mar. 15	1	17	1
Hunger Emergency Assistance and Relief Trust Act of 1987: Individual giving to alleviate world hunger, Aug. 4 (held jointly with Select Committee on Hunger)	1	9	1
Certain aspects of life insurance company taxation, Sept. 27	1	9	1
Total	11	176	9
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH			
1987:			
Catastrophic illness expenses, Jan. 29; Mar. 3, 4, 10, 30 (Jan. 29 held jointly with full committee)	5	44	1
Medicare hospital DRG margins, Feb. 26	1	12	1
Report of the Physician Payment Review Commission; and fiscal year 1988 budget issues related to physician payment under the medicare program, Mar. 3	1	10	1
Uncompensated hospital care: In Memoriam William Trumball, Mar. 12	1	9	1
Long-term care, Mar. 31	1	9	1
Fiscal year 1988 budget reconciliation issues relating to hospital payments under the medicare program, Apr. 1	1	4	1
Coverage of outpatient prescription drugs under medicare part B, Apr. 23; June 2, 15	3	15	1
Fiscal year 1988 budget reconciliation issues relating to the reimbursement of hospital capital expenditures under the medicare program, May 4	1	6	1
Participating physician program under medicare part B, May 7	1	10	1
Insurance protection for catastrophic health expenses for individuals under age 65, May 12	1	6	1
Fiscal year 1988 budget reconciliation issues relating to payment of radiologists, anesthesiologists, and pathologists on the basis of diagnosis related groups, May 13	1	10	1
Fiscal year 1988 budget reconciliation issues relating to the medicare program, June 1	1	10	1
Fiscal year 1988 budget reconciliation issues related to physician payments under the medicare program, June 15	1	35	1
Medicare coverage for mammography examinations, Nov. 3	1	10	1

TABLE 3.—PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS—Continued

Subject and date	Number of—		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
1988:			
Status of the medicare hospital prospective payment system, Mar. 1	1	8	1
Administration's capitation initiatives, Mar. 10	1	9	1
Payment of physicians by the medicare program, May 24	1	7	1
Long-term care insurance, Aug. 2, 4; Sept. 26	3	33	1
Employee Health Benefit Improvement Act of 1988, Aug. 9; Sept. 22	2	19	1
Increase in the medicare part B premium for 1989, Sept. 29	1	7	1
Total	29	273	20
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY			
1987:			
Social security and railroad retirement proposals contained in the President's fiscal year 1988 budget, Mar. 5	1	10	1
Misleading and deceptive mailings to Social Security beneficiaries, Mar. 10	1	19	1
Staffing reductions, service delivery, and management of the Social Security Administration, Apr. 2	1	18	1
Attorney's fees in Social Security disability cases, May 13	1	20	1
Condition of State agencies that determine disability under social security, Oct. 6	1	21	1
Social security coverage of Amish workers, Oct. 6	1	3	1
1988:			
Report of the General Accounting Office on the "Notch" issue, Apr. 14	1	46	1
Social Security Trust Fund reserves, May 10	1	6	1
Final report of the Social Security Disability Advisory Council, May 26	1	22	1
Crediting of wages to Social Security accounts, Aug. 9 (held jointly with Subcommittee on Oversight)	1	13	1
Proposals to improve the quality of services provided by the Social Security Administration, Sept. 22	1	14	1
Social security retirement test, Sept. 29	1	17	1
Total	12	209	12
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION			
1987:			
Welfare reform, Jan. 28; Feb. 19; Mar. 4, 6, 10, 11, 13	7	55	1
Family Welfare Reform Act, Mar. 30; Apr. 1	2	28	1
Railroad Unemployment Insurance and Retirement Improvement Act of 1987, July 14	1	10	1
Reform of the unemployment compensation program, Dec. 14	1	28	1
1988:			
Child support enforcement program, Feb. 23, 25; Mar. 2	3	35	1
Use of AFDC funds for homeless families, Mar. 28 (held jointly with Senate Finance Committee)	1	15	1
Foster care independent living initiatives, Mar. 31	1	9	1
Recent studies of the AFDC quality control system and the need for reform, Apr. 12	1	9	1

TABLE 3.—PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS—Continued

Subject and date	Number of—		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
Foster care, child welfare, and adoption reforms, Apr. 13, 28; May 12 (held jointly with Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families)	3	32	1
Child care needs of low-income families, June 9	1	12	1
Reform of the unemployment compensation program, Sept. 15	1	15	1
Total	22	248	11

As can be seen from the foregoing statistics, during the 100th Congress the full committee and its six subcommittees held public hearings aggregating a grand total of 140 days, during which time 1,827 witnesses were heard resulting in the publication of 94 printed volumes of testimony. Included in this total are hearings which were jointly held by two or more subcommittees or with other House and Senate committees. These joint hearings comprised 7 days of testimony with 72 witnesses and resulted in 5 volumes of printed testimony.

In addition, written comments were printed after having been requested and received by the full committee on H.R. 2636, the Technical Corrections Act of 1987. The full committee as well as the Subcommittee on Trade received written comments on the proposed implementation of the conversion of the Tariff Schedules of the United States into the Harmonized Commodity Description and Coding System. The Subcommittee on Trade also received written comments on numerous tariff and trade bills.

Finally, the Subcommittee on Oversight received written comments on discussion options relating to the unrelated business income tax.

With respect to markup or business sessions during the 100th Congress, the full committee and its six subcommittees were also very actively engaged. The full committee held such sessions on 43 working days, usually both morning and afternoon sessions, and the subcommittees an aggregate of 34 working days, making a grand total of 77 working days of markup or business sessions for the committee and its subcommittees during the 100th Congress.

C. Number and Final Status of Bills Reported From the Committee on Ways and Means in the 100th Congress

During the 100th Congress the committee reported favorably to the House a total of 29 bills. Forty-two bills containing provisions within the purview of the committee were passed by the House and 25 were enacted into law. It should be noted that this total is not at all indicative of the total number of bills considered by the committee, because when the committee goes into session on major tax, tariff, Social Security, health, unemployment compensation, or public assistance matters, it very often considers the broad subject

rather than certain specific bills, and in the course of consideration of the subject makes every attempt to review all of the pertinent bills pending before the committee which are encompassed within that subject. Further, it is the practice of the committee normally to report bills on a major subject which may involve many sections containing subjects included in perhaps as many as several hundred bills pending before the committee.

V. CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS AND MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMITTEE FROM THE 1st THROUGH THE 100th CONGRESSES

A. Chairmen of the Committee on Ways and Means, 1789 to Present

Name	State	Party	Term of service
Thomas Fitzsimons	Pennsylvania	Federalist	1789.
William L. Smith	South Carolina	do	1794 to 1797.
Robert G. Harper	do	do	1797 to 1800.
Roger Griswold	Connecticut	do	1800 to 1801.
John Randolph	Virginia	Jeffersonian Republican	1801 to 1805, 1827.
Joseph Clay	Pennsylvania	do	1805 to 1807.
George W. Campbell	Tennessee	do	1807 to 1809.
John W. Eppes	Virginia	do	1809 to 1811.
Ezekiel Bacon	Massachusetts	do	1811 to 1812.
Langdon Cheves	South Carolina	do	1812 to 1813.
John W. Eppes	Virginia	do	1813 to 1815.
William Lowndes	South Carolina	do	1815 to 1818.
Samuel Smith	Maryland	do	1818 to 1822.
Louis McLane	Delaware	do	1822 to 1827.
George McDuffie	South Carolina	Democrat	1827 to 1832.
Gulian C. Verplanck	New York	do	1832 to 1833.
James K. Polk	Tennessee	do	1833 to 1835.
C. C. Cambreleng	New York	do	1835 to 1839.
John W. Jones	Virginia	do	1839 to 1841.
Millard Fillmore	New York	Whig	1841 to 1843.
James Iver McKay	North Carolina	Democrat	1843 to 1847.
Samuel F. Vinton	Ohio	Whig	1847 to 1849.
Thomas H. Bayly	Virginia	Democrat	1849 to 1851.
George S. Houston	Alabama	do	1851 to 1855.
Lewis D. Campbell	Ohio	Republican	1855 to 1857.
J. Glancy Jones	Pennsylvania	Democrat	1857 to 1858.
John S. Phelps	Missouri	do	1858 to 1859.
John Sherman	Ohio	Republican	1859 to 1861.
Thaddeus Stevens	Pennsylvania	do	1861 to 1865.
Justin S. Morrill	Vermont	Republican	1865 to 1867.
Robert C. Schenck	Ohio	do	1867 to 1871.
Samuel D. Hooper	Massachusetts	do	1871.
Henry L. Dawes	Massachusetts	do	1871 to 1875.
William R. Morrison	Illinois	Democrat	1875 to 1877.
Fernando Wood	New York	do	1877 to 1881.
John R. Tucker	Virginia	do	1871.
William D. Kelley	Pennsylvania	Republican	1881 to 1883.
William R. Morrison	Illinois	Democrat	1883 to 1887.
Roger Q. Mills	Texas	do	1887 to 1889.
William McKinley, Jr	Ohio	Republican	1889 to 1891.
William M. Springer	Illinois	Democrat	1891 to 1893.
William L. Wilson	West Virginia	do	1893 to 1895.
Nelson Dingley, Jr	Maine	Republican	1895 to 1899.
Sereno E. Payne	New York	do	1899 to 1911.
Oscar W. Underwood	Alabama	Democrat	1911 to 1915.
Claude Kitchin	North Carolina	do	1915 to 1919.
Joseph W. Fordney	Michigan	Republican	1919 to 1923.
William R. Green	Iowa	do	1923 to 1928.

Name	State	Party	Term of service
Willis C. Hawley	Oregon	do	1929 to 1931.
James W. Collier	Mississippi	Democrat	1931 to 1933.
Robert L. Doughton	North Carolina	do	1933 to 1947, 1949 to 1953.
Harold Knutson	Minnesota	Republican	1947 to 1949.
Daniel A. Reed	New York	Republican	1953 to 1955.
Jere Cooper	Tennessee	Democrat	1955 to 1957.
Wilbur D. Mills	Arkansas	do	1957 to 1975.
Al Ullman	Oregon	do	1975 to 1981.
Dan Rostenkowski	Illinois	do	1981 to .

[1] Not known.

B. Tables Showing Past Membership of the Committee

1. Members of the Committee on Ways and Means from the 1st through 100th Congress, by State

	Congress
Alabama:	
John McKinley	23
David Hubbard	26
Dixon H. Lewis	27–28
George S. Houston	29–30, 32–33
James F. Dowdell	35
Hilary A. Herbert	48
Joseph Wheeler	53–55
Oscar W. Underwood	56, 59–63
Ronnie G. Flippo	98–
Arkansas:	
James K. Jones	48
Clifton R. Breckinridge	49–51, 53
William A. Oldfield	64–70
Heartsill Ragon	70–73
William J. Driver	72
Claude A. Fuller	73–75
Wilbur D. Mills	77–94
Jim Guy Tucker, Jr	95
Beryl Anthony, Jr	97–
California:	
Joseph McKenna	51–52
Victor H. Metcalf	57–58
James C. Needham	58–62
William E. Evans	73
Frank H. Buck	74–77
Bertrand W. Gearhart	76–80
Cecil R. King	78–79, 81–90
James B. Utt	83, 86–91
James C. Corman	90–96
Jerry L. Pettis	91–94
William M. Ketchum	94–95
Fortney Pete Stark	94–
John H. Rousselot	95–97
Robert T. Matsui	97–
William M. Thomas	98–

Colorado:
Robert W. Bonynge 60
Charles B. Timberlake 66–72
John A. Carroll 81
Donald G. Brotzman 92–93
George H. "Hank" Brown 100–
Connecticut:
Jeremiah Wadsworth 1
Uriah Tracy 3
James Hillhouse 4
Nathaniel Smith 4–5
Joshua Coit 5
Roger Griswold 5–8
John Davenport 8
Jonathan O. Moseley 9, 14, 16
Benjamin Tallmadge 10–11
Timothy Pitkin 12–13, 15
Ralph I. Ingersoll 21–22
Samuel D. Hubbard 30
James Phelps 45–46
Charles A. Russell 54–57
Ebenezer J. Hill 58–62, 64–65
John Q. Tilson 66–68
Antoni N. Sadlak 83–85
William R. Cotter 94–97
Barbara B. Kennelly 98–
Delaware:
John Vining 1
Henry Latimer 3
John Patten 4
James A. Bayard, Sr 5, 7
Caesar A. Rodney 8
Louis McLane 16–19
Florida:
A. S. Herlong, Jr 84–90
Sam M. Gibbons 91–
L. A. (Skip) Bafalis 94–97
E. Clay Shaw, Jr 100–
Georgia:
James Jackson 1
Abraham Baldwin 3–5
Benjamin Taliaferro 6
John Milledge 7
David Meriwether 8–9
William W. Bibb 12–13
Joel Abbott 15
Joel Crawford 15–16
Wiley Thompson 17–18
George R. Gilmer 20
Richard H. Wilde 22–23
George W. Owens 24–25
Charles E. Haynes 25
Mark A. Cooper 26
Absalom H. Chappell 28

Seaborn Jones 29
Robert Toombs 30–31
Alexander H. Stephens 30–31, 33
Marshall J. Wellborn 31
Howell Cobb 34
Martin J. Crawford 35–36
Benjamin H. Hill 44
Henry R. Harris 45, 49
William H. Felton 46
Emory Speer 47
James H. Blount 48
Henry G. Turner 50–54
Charles F. Crisp 54
James M. Griggs 60–61
William G. Brantley 61–62
Charles R. Crisp 64–72
Albert S. Camp 78–83
Phillip M. Landrum 89–94
Ed Jenkins 95–
Wyche Fowler, Jr 96–99

Hawaii:
Cecil (Cec) Heftel 96–99

Illinois:
Daniel P. Cook 19
John A. McClernand 37
John Wentworth 39
John A. Logan 40
Samuel S. Marshall 41
Horatio C. Burchard 42–45
William R. Morrison 44, 46–49
William M. Springer 52
Albert J. Hopkins 52–57
Henry S. Boutell 58–61
Henry T. Rainey 62–66, 68–72
John A. Sterling 65
Ira C. Copley 66–67
Carl R. Chindblom 68–72
Chester C. Thompson 74–75
Raymond S. McKeough 76–77
Charles S. Dewey 78
Thomas J. O'Brien 79, 81–88
Noah M. Mason 80–87
Harold R. Collier 88–93
Dan Rostenkowski 88–
Abner J. Mikva 94–96
Philip M. Crane 94–
Marty Russo 96–

Indiana:
David Wallace 27
Cyrus L. Dunham 32
William E. Niblack 40, 43
Godlove S. Orth 41
Michael C. Kerr 42

Thomas M. Browne 48–50
William D. Bynum 50, 53
Benjamin F. Shively 52
George W. Steele 54–57
James E. Watson 58–60
Edgar D. Crumpacker 60–61
Lincoln Dixon 62–65
Harry C. Canfield 71–72
John W. Boehne, Jr 73–77
Robert A. Grant 80
Andy Jacobs, Jr 94–

Iowa:
John A. Kasson 38, 43, 47–48
William B. Allison 39–41
John H. Gear 51, 53
Jonathan P. Dolliver 54–56
William R. Green 63–70
C. William Ramseyer 70–71
Otha D. Wearin 75
Lloyd Thurston 75
Thomas E. Martin 80–83

Kansas:
Dudley C. Haskell 47
Chester I. Long 56–57
Charles Curtis 58–59
William A. Calderhead 60–61
Victor Murdock 63
Guy T. Helvering 64–65
Frank Carlson 76–79
Martha E. Keys 94–95

Kentucky:
Alexander D. Orr 3
Christopher Greenup 4
Thomas T. Davis 5
John Boyle 8
Richard M. Johnson 11–12
Thomas Montgomery 13
David Trimble 15–16
Nathan Gaither 22
John Pope 25
Thomas F. Marshall 27
Garrett Davis 28
Charles S. Morehead 30–31
John C. Breckinridge 33
Robert Mallory 38
James B. Beck 42–43
Henry Watterson 44
John G. Carlisle 46–47, 51
Joseph C.S. Blackburn 48
William C.P. Breckinridge 49–50
Alexander B. Montgomery 52–53
Walter Evans 54–55
Ollie M. James 62

Augustus O. Stanley 63
Frederick M. Vinson 72–75
Noble J. Gregory 78–85
John C. Watts 86–92

Louisiana:
Thomas B. Robertson 14
William L. Brent 19–20
Walter H. Overton 21
Lionel A. Sheldon 43
Randall L. Gibson 45–46
Charles J. Boatner 54
Samuel M. Robertson 55–59
Robert F. Broussard 61
Whitmell P. Martin 65–70
Paul H. Maloney 76, 78–79
Thomas Hale Boggs, Sr 81–91
Joe D. Waggonner, Jr 92–95
W. Henson Moore III 96–99

Maine:
Peleg Sprague 19–20
Francis O.J. Smith 24
George Evans 26
Israel Washburn, Jr 36
James G. Blaine 44
William P. Frye 46
Thomas B. Reed 48–50, 52–53
Nelson Dingley, Jr 51, 54–55
Daniel J. McGillicuddy 64

Maryland:
William Smith 1
Gabriel Christie 3
William Vans Murray 4
William Hindman 4–5
William Craik 5
Joseph H. Nicholson 6–9
Nicholas R. Moore 8
Roger Nelson 9
John Montgomery 10–11
Alexander McKim 13
Stevenson Archer 13
Samuel Smith 14–17
Isaac McKim 18, 23–25
Henry W. Davis 34–36
Phillip F. Thomas 44
David J. Lewis 72–75
Rogers C.B. Morton 91–92

Massachusetts:
Elbridge Gerry 1
Fisher Ames 3
Theodore Sedgwick 4
Theophilus Bradbury 4
Harrison Gray Otis 5–6
Samuel Sewall 5

Isaac Parker 5
Bailey Bartlett 6
Nathan Read 7
Seth Hastings 8
Josiah Quincy 9
Ezekiel Bacon 11–12
Ebenezer Seaver 11
Henry Shaw 16
Henry W. Dwight 19–21
Benjamin Gorham 23
Abbott Lawrence 24, 26
Richard Fletcher 25
George N. Briggs 25
Leverett Saltonstall 26
Robert C. Winthrop 29
Charles Hudson 30
George Ashmun 31
William Appleton 32–33, 37
Alexander De Witt 34
Nathaniel P. Banks 35, 45
Samuel Hooper 37–41
Henry L. Dawes 42–43
Chester W. Chapin 44
William A. Russell 47–48
Moses T. Stevens 52–53
Samuel W. McCall 56–62
Andrew J. Peters 62–63
Augustus P. Gardner 63–65
John J. Mitchell 63
Allen T. Treadway 65–78
Peter F. Tague 67–68
John W. McCormack 72–76
Arthur D. Healey 77
Charles L. Gifford 79–80
Angier L. Goodwin 80, 82–83
James A. Burke 87–95
James M. Shannon 96–98
Brian J. Donnelly 99–

Michigan:

William A. Howard 34–36
Austin Blair 41
Henry Waldron 43
Omar D. Conger 46
Jay A. Hubbell 47
William C. Maybury 49
Julius C. Burrows 50–53
Justin R. Whiting 52–53
William A. Smith 59
Joseph W. Fordney 60–67
James C. McLaughlin 68–72
Roy O. Woodruff 73–82
John D. Dingell 74–84
Victor A. Knox 83, 86–88

Thaddeus M. Machrowicz 84–87
Martha W. Griffiths 87–93
Charles E. Chamberlain 91–93
Richard F. Vander Veen 93–94
Guy Vander Jagt 94–
William M. Brodhead 95–97
Sander M. Levin 100–

Minnesota:
Mark H. Dunnell 46–47
James A. Tawney 54–58
James T. McCleary 59
Winfield S. Hammond 62–63
Sydney Anderson 63
Harold Knutson 73–80
Eugene J. McCarthy 84–85
Joseph E. Karth 92–94
Bill Frenzel 94–

Mississippi:
Jacob Thompson 31
John Sharp Williams 58–59
James W. Collier 63–72
Aaron Lane Ford 77

Missouri:
James S. Green 31
John S. Phelps 32–37
Henry T. Blow 38
John Hogan 39
Gustavus A. Finkelburg 42
John C. Tarsney 53–54
Seth W. Cobb 54
Champ Clark 58–61
Dorsey W. Shackleford 62–63
Clement C. Dickinson 63–66, 68–70, 72–73
Charles L. Faust 69–70
Richard M. Duncan 74–77
Thomas B. Curtis 83–90
Frank M. Karsten 84–90
Richard A. Gephardt 95–

Montana:
Lee W. Metcalf 86
James F. Battin 89–91

Nebraska:
William J. Bryan 52–53
Charles H. Sloan 63–65
Ashton C. Shallenberger 73
Carl T. Curtis 79–83
Hal Daub 99–100

Nevada:
Francis G. Newlands 56–57

New Hampshire:
Samuel Livermore 1
Nicholas Gilman 3–4
Abiel Foster 5
Nathaniel A. Haven 11

Henry Hubbard 23
Charles G. Atherton 25–27
Moses Norris, Jr 28–29
Harry Hibbard 31–33
Judd A. Gregg 99–100

New Jersey:
Lambert Cadwalader 1
Elias Boudinot 3
Isaac Smith 4
Thomas Sinnickson 5
James H. Imlay 6
William Coxe, Jr 13
John L. N. Stratton 37
William Hughes 62
Isaac Bacharach 66–74
Donald H. McLean 76–78
Robert W. Kean 78–85
Henry Helstoski 94
Frank J. Guarini 96–

New Mexico:
Clinton P. Anderson 79

New York:
John Laurance 1
John Watts 3
Ezekiel Gilbert 4
James Cochran 5
Hezekiah L. Hosmer 5
Jonas Platt 6
Killian K. Van Rensselaer 7
Joshua Sands 8
Erastus Root 11
John W. Taylor 13
Jonathan Fisk 13
Thomas J. Oakley 13
James W. Wilkin 14
James Tallmadge, Jr 15
Albert H. Tracy 16
Nathaniel Pitcher 17
Churchill C. Cambreleng 17–18, 23–25
Dudley Marvin 19
Gulian C. Verplanck 20–22
Aaron Vanderpoel 26
Millard Filmore 27
Daniel D. Barnard 28
David L. Seymour 28
George O. Rathbun 28
Orville Hungerford 29
Henry Nicoll 30
James Brooks 31–32, 39–40, 42
William Duer 31
Solomon G. Haven 33
Russell Sage 34
John Kelly 35

William B. MacLay 35
Elbridge G. Spaulding 36–37
Erastus Corning 37
Reuben E. Fenton 38
De Witt C. Littlejohn 38
Henry G. Stebbins 38
John V. L. Pruyn 38
Roscoe Conkling 39
Charles H. Winfield 39
John A. Griswold 40
Dennis McCarthy 41
Ellis H. Roberts 42–43
Fernando Wood 43–46
Abram S. Hewitt 48–49
Frank Hiscock 48–49
Sereno E. Payne 51–63
Roswell P. Flower 51
William B. Cochran 52–53, 58–60
George B. McClellan 55–58
John W. Dwight 61
Francis B. Harrison 61–63
Michael F. Conry 64
George W. Fairchild 64–65
John F. Carew 65–71
Luther W. Mott 66–67
Alanson B. Houghton 67
Ogden L. Mills 67–69
Frank Crowther 68-77
Thaddeus C. Sweet 70
Frederick M. Davenport 70–71
Thomas H. Cullen 71–78
Christopher D. Sullivan 72–76
Daniel A. Reed 73–86
Walter A. Lynch 78–81
Eugene J. Keogh 82–89
Albert H. Bosch 86
Steven B. Derounian 87–88
Barber B. Conable, Jr 90–98
Jacob H. Gilbert 90–91
Hugh L. Carey 91–93
Otis G. Pike 93–95
Charles B. Rangel 94–
Thomas J. Downey 96–
Raymond J. McGrath 99–

North Carolina:
William B. Grove 3
Thomas Blount 4–5
Robert Williams 5
David Stone 6
James Holland 7
Willis Alston 10–11, 13
William Gaston 13–14
Abraham Rencher 25, 27

Henry W. Conner 26
James I. McKay 28–30
Edward Stanly 32
William M. Robbins 45
Edward W. Pou 60–61
Claude Kitchin 62–67
Robert L. Doughton 69–82
James G. Martin 94–98
North Dakota:
Martin N. Johnson 54–55
George M. Young 66–68
Byron L. Dorgan 98–
Ohio:
William Creighton, Jr 13
Thomas R. Ross 16
Thomas Corwin 23–24
Thomas L. Hamer 25
Taylor Webster 25
Samson Mason 26–27
John B. Weller 28
Samuel F. Vinton 29–31
Lewis D. Campbell 34–35
John Sherman 36
Valentine B. Horton 37
George H. Pendleton 38
James A. Garfield 39, 44–46
Robert C. Schenck 40–41
Charles Foster 43
Milton Sayler 45
William McKinley, Jr 46–47, 49–51
Frank H. Hurd 48
Charles H. Grosvenor 53–59
Nicholas Longworth 60–62, 64–67
Timothy T. Ansberry 62–63
Alfred G. Allen 64
George White 65
Charles C. Kearns 68–71
Charles F. West 73
Thomas A. Jenkins 73–85
Arthur P. Lamneck 74–75
Stephen M. Young 81
Jackson E. Betts 86–92
Donald D. Clancy 93–94
Charles A. Vanik 89–96
Bill Gradison 95–
Don J. Pease 97–
Oklahoma:
Thomas A. Chandler 67
James V. McClintic 73
Wesley E. Disney 74–78
James R. Jones 94–99

Oregon:
William R. Ellis 61
Willis C. Hawley 65–72
Albert C. Ullman 87–96
Pennsylvania:
Thomas Fitzsimons 1, 3
Albert Gallatin 4–6
Henry Woods 6
John Smilie 6–7, 10–12
Joseph Clay 8–9
John Rea 11
Jonathan Roberts 12–13
Samuel D. Ingham 13–14, 18
John Sergeant 15, 25
John Tod 17
John Gilmore 21–22
Horace Binney 23
Richard Biddle 26
Joseph R. Ingersoll 24, 27–29
James Pollock 30
Moses Hampton 31
J. Glancy Jones 32, 35
John Robbins 33
James H. Campbell 34
Henry M. Phillips 35
Thaddeus Stevens 36–38
James K. Moorhead 39–40
William D. Kelley 41–50
Russell Errett 47
Samuel J. Randall 47
William L. Scott 50
Thomas M. Bayne 51
John Dalzell 52–62
A. Mitchell Palmer 62–63
J. Hampton Moore 63–66
John J. Casey 64, 68
Henry W. Watson 66–73
Harris J. Bixler 69
Harry A. Estep 70–72
Thomas C. Cochran 73
Joshua T. Brooks 74
Patrick J. Boland 76–77
Benjamin Jarrett 76–77
James P. McGranery 77–78
Herman P. Eberharter 78–85
Richard M. Simpson 78–86
William J. Green, Jr 86–88
John A. Lafore, Jr 86
Walter M. Mumma 86–87
George M. Rhodes 88–90
Herman T. Schneebeli 87–94
William J. Green, III 90–94
Raymond F. Lederer 95–96
Dick Schulze 95–

Donald A. Bailey 97
William J. Coyne 99–
Rhode Island:
Benjamin Bourne 3–4
Francis Malbone 4
Elisha R. Potter 4
Christopher G. Champlin 5
John Brown 6
Joseph Stanton, Jr 8
Daniel L. D. Granger 59–60
George F. O'Shaunessy 65
Richard S. Aldrich 69–72
Aime J. Forand 78–86
South Carolina:
William L. Smith 3–5
Robert Goodloe Harper 5–6
Abraham Nott 6
David R. Williams 9
Langdon Cheves 12
Theodore Gourdin 13
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[1] Died on June 21, 1988.
[2] Appointed on July 7, 1988.

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